UNITED NATIONS OPERATION IN MOZAMBIQUE

BACKGROUND

On 4 October 1992, after 14 years of devastating civil war, Mr. Joaquim Alberto Chissano, President of the Republic of Mo mbique, and Mr. Afonso Macacho Marceta Dhlakama, President of the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO), signed in Rome a General Peace Agreement establishing the principles and modalities for the achievement of peace in Mozambique. The Agreement called for United Nations participation in monitoring the implementation of the Agreement, in providing technical assistance for the general elections and in monitoring these elections.

Under the Agreement, negotiated over the past two years with the help of a number of mediators and observers including United Nations representatives, a cease-fire was to come into effect not later than 15 October 1992, referred to as E-Day. The Agreement itself and its seven protocols called for the cease-fire to be followed rapidly by the separation of the two sides' forces and their concentration in certain assembly areas. Demobilization was to begin immediately thereafter of those troops who would not serve in the new Mozambican Defence Force (FADM). Demobilization would have to be completed six months after E-Day. Meanwhile, new political parties would be formed and preparations would be made for elections, scheduled to take place not later than 15 October 1993. A 16 July 1992 Declaration by the Government of Mozambique and RENAMO on guiding principles for humanitarian assistance, a Joint Declaration signed in Rome on 7 August 1992, as well as a Joint Communiqué of 10 July 1990 and an Agreement of 1 December 1990, form integral parts of the General Peace Agreement.

The United Nations was requested to undertake a major role in monitoring the implementation of the Agreement and was asked to perform specific functions in relation to the cease-fire, the elections and humanitarian assistance. The implementation of the Agreement was to be supervised by a Supervisory and Monitoring Commission (CSC) chaired by the United Nations. The United Nations was also to provide chairpersons for two Commissions which would be charged with the responsibility for the cease-fire and for the reintegration of demobilized military personnel.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL PROPOSES ESTABLISHMENT OF ONUMOZ

On 9 October, United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali submitted to the Security Council a report on the principal features of the 4 October General Peace Agreement and on the proposed United Nations role in Mozambique. In the report, he recommended an immediate plan of action and stated his intention, subject to Council approval, to appoint an interim Special Representative to be in overall charge of United Nations activities in that country.

On 13 October, the Security Council adopted resolution 782 (1992), by which it welcomed the signature of the General Peace Agreement between the Mozambican Government and RENAMO, and approved the appointment by the Secretary-General of an interim Special Representative and the dispatch to Mozambique of a team of up to 25 military observers.

THE AGREEMENT ENTERS INTO FORCE

On the same day, the Secretary-General appointed Mr. Aldo Ajello, a national of Italy, as his interim Special Representative for Mozambique, and asked him to proceed to Mozambique to assist the parties in setting up the joint monitoring machinery, in finalizing the modalities and conditions for the military arrangements and in carrying out the various other actions that were required of them at the very beginning of the peace process.

UNITED NATIONS

The interim Special Representative and the team of 21 military observers, drawn from existing United Nations peace-keeping missions, arrived in Mozambique on 15 October 1992, the day the General Peace Agreement entered into force. On 20 October, two teams of military observers were also deployed to Nampula and Beira. Later, two additional outposts were established to verify the withdrawal of foreign troops from Mozambique,* which is an important element of the General Peace Agreement.

Both Mozambican parties have committed themselves to undertake immediately after, and in some instances before, the entry into effect of the Agreement, specific action to set in motion the joint mechanisms to monitor and verify its implementation. However, no such action had been initiated at the time when the interim Special Representative arrived in Mozambique. Upon arrival, he started extensive discussions with the parties concerned in an effort to ensure the early start of implementation of the Agreement.

Meanwhile, major violations of the cease-fire were reported in various areas of the country, and the parties presented official complaints to the interim Special Representative. He urged the two parties to refrain from any type of military operation and to discuss and settle all disputes through negotiations.

The Secretary-General reported on the situation to the President of the Security Council on 23 October. The President, in a statement dated 27 October, expressed the Council's deep concern about the reports of major violations of the cease-fire, called upon the parties to halt such violations immediately and urged them to cooperate fully with the interim Special Representative.

* As the civil war intensified, Malawi and Zimbabwe, with the agreement of the Government of Mozambique, deployed troops in the transport corridors to assist the Government's forces in keeping them open. These corridors, which run across Mozambique from the Indian Ocean to land-locked countries to the north and west, are of critical importance for southern Africa.

SETTING UP OF MONITORING MECHANISM

In an attempt to avoid further escalation of hostilities, the interim Special Representative called for an early informal meeting of the Government and RENAMO. The initiative was successful, and both parties sent high-level delegations to attend their first meeting in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique. Thereafter, the two delegations met on numerous occasions, both bilaterally and together with the interim Special Representative. On 4 November 1992, the interim Special Representative appointed the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission (CSC), which held its first meeting the same day and appointed the three main subsidiary commissions: the Cease-fire Commission (CCF), the Commission for the Reintegration of Demobilized Military Personnel (CORE) and the Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Forces (CCFADM). All Commissions and their subordinate bodies have been established and have begun their work.

The Supervisory and Monitoring Commission is to guarantee the implementation of the Agreement, assume responsibility for authentic interpretation of it, settle any disputes that may arise between the parties and guide and coordinate the activities of the other Commissions. CSC is chaired by the United Nations and was initially composed of Government and RENAMO delegations, with representatives of Italy (the mediator State), France, Portugal, the United Kingdom, the United States (observer States at the Rome talks) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU). In December, Germany also became a member of CSC.

The Cease-fire Commission is responsible for supervising the cease-fire and demobilization of forces. It is composed of Government and RENAMO delegations, with representatives of Botswana, Egypt, France, Italy, Nigeria, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States, and is also chaired by the United Nations. The Cease-fire Commission will have subordinate subcommis-

sions in three regional headquarters, as well as monitoring groups at the assembly areas.

The Reintegration Commission is responsible for the economic and social reintegration of demobilized military personnel. It is composed of Government and RENAMO delegations, with representatives of Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the United States and the European Community (EC), and is chaired by the United Nations.

The Joint Commission for the Formation of the Mozambican Defence Forces is responsible for supervising the formation of the new unified armed forces. It is composed of Government and RENAMO delegations, with representatives of France, Portugal and the United Kingdom. The United Nations has not been requested to take part in this Commission.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ONUMOZ

On 3 December, the Secretary-General submitted to the Security Council his further report, in which he described the current status of the peace process in Mozambique and presented a detailed operational plan for United Nations operations in that country. In the report, the Secretary-General characterized the task of the United Nations in Mozambique as large and difficult. Describing the difficulties of the operation, he referred to the size of the country, the devastated state of its infrastructure, the disruption of its economy by war and drought, the limited capacity of the Government to cope with the new tasks arising from the General Peace Agreement and the complexity of the processes envisaged in the Agreement. He also referred to the breadth of responsibilities entrusted to the United Nations under the Agreement.

The Secretary-General expressed his conviction that it would not be possible to create the conditions in Mozambique for successful elections unless the military situation had been brought fully under control, and that the Peace Agreement would not be implemented unless the Mozambican parties made a determined effort in good faith to honour their commitments.

In recommending to the Security Council the establishment and deployment of ONUMOZ, the Secretary-General stated that "in the light of recent experiences elsewhere, the recommendations in the present report may be thought to invite the international community to take a risk. I believe that the risk is worth taking; but I cannot disguise that it exists."

On 16 December, the Security Council, by its resolution 797 (1992), approved the Secretary-General's report and decided to establish ONUMOZ until 31 October 1993. The Council endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendation that the elections not take place until the military aspects of the Agreement have been fully implemented. It called upon the Mozambican Government and RENAMO to cooperate fully with the United Nations and to respect scrupulously the cease-fire and their obligations under the Agreement.

ONUMOZ'S MANDATE

In accordance with the General Peace Agreement, the mandate of ONUMOZ includes four important elements.

Political: to facilitate impartially the implementation of the Agreement, in particular by chairing the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission and its subordinate commissions.

Military: to monitor and verify the cease-fire, the separation and concentration of forces, their demobilization and the collection, storage and destruction of weapons; to monitor and verify the complete withdrawal of foreign forces, and to provide security in the four transport corridors; to monitor and verify the disbanding of private and irregular armed groups; to authorize security arrangements for vital infrastructures; and to provide security for United Nations and other international activities in support of the peace process.

Electoral: to provide technical assistance and monitor the entire electoral process.

Humanitarian: to coordinate and monitor all humanitarian assistance operations, in particular those relating to refugees, internally displaced persons, demobilized military personnel and the affected local population, and, in this context, to chair the Humanitarian Assistance Committee.

The operational concept of ONUMOZ, which is to number between 7,000 and 8,000 military and civilian personnel, is based on the strong interrelationship between these four components. Without sufficient humanitarian aid, and especially food supplies, the security situation in the country may deteriorate and the demobilization process might stall. Without adequate military protection, the humanitarian aid would not reach its destination. Without sufficient progress in the political area, the confidence required for the disarmament and rehabilitation process would not exist. The electoral process, in turn, requires prompt demobilization and formation of the new armed forces, without which the conditions would not exist for successful elections. These strong linkages require a fully integrated approach and strong coordination by the interim Special Representative.

OFFICE OF THE INTERIM SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE

The Office of the interim Special Representative would provide overall direction of United Nations activities in Mozambique and would be responsible for political aspects of the peace process. The Office would comprise up to 12 international Professional staff, 8 international support staff and an adequate number of locally recruited staff.

MILITARY ASPECTS

ONUMOZ's verification of the arrangements for the cease-fire and other military aspects of the peace process in Mozambique would be carried out mainly by teams of United Nations military observers at the 49 assembly areas in three military regions and elsewhere in the field. They would work with, but would remain separate from, the monitoring groups composed of representatives of the two Mozambican parties at each location. They would observe the manner in which those groups were carrying out their functions in order to verify that the joint monitoring machinery was working effectively. They would respond to requests for assistance and would use their good offices to resolve any problems that might arise within the monitoring groups, conducting their own investigations and patrolling the whole extent of their assembly areas. Teams would also be deployed at airports, ports and other critical areas, including RENAMO headquarters.

The military aspects of the United Nations operation in Mozambique would be closely linked with the humanitarian effort. The approximately 110,000 soldiers who come to the assembly areas would be disarmed, demobilized and reintegrated into civil society. They would need food and other support as soon as the assembly areas are established. An ONUMOZ technical unit, staffed by civilian personnel, would assist the interim Special Representative in implementing the demobilization programme and would collaborate closely with the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Assistance (UNOHAC) on the programme's humanitarian aspects.

The Agreement provides for the withdrawal of foreign troops to be initiated following the entry into force of the cease-fire. Simultaneously, the Supervisory and Monitoring Commission, through the Cease-fire Commission, would assume immediate responsibility "for verifying and ensuring security of strategic and trading routes", of which the most important are the four transport corridors. ONUMOZ would have to assume transitional responsibility for the security of the corridors in order to protect humanitarian convoys using them, pending the formation of the new unified armed forces.

To ensure credible verification of the military arrangements, ONUMOZ military component would have to include 354 military observers; five

logistically self-sufficient infantry battalions, each composed of up to 850 personnel; one engineer battalion, three logistics companies, a Headquarters company, a movement control company, a communications unit, a medical unit and an air unit. The military component would be headed by a Force Commander with the rank of Major-General. There would also be three regional offices.

While the Agreement does not provide a specific role for United Nations civilian police in monitoring the neutrality of the Mozambican police, the Security Council has left open the possibility of introducing a police component into ONUMOZ, should both Mozambican parties so request. If agreed by the two sides, such a component would consist of up to 128 police officers. They would work in close cooperation with the National Police Affairs Commission and provide technical advice to this body as required.

MONITORING OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

Under the terms of the Agreement, legislative and presidential elections would be held simultaneously one year after the date of signature of the Agreement. This period may be extended if warranted by the prevailing circumstances.

The terms of reference of ONUMOZ's electoral component would be: (*a*) to verify the impartiality of the National Elections Commission and its organs in all aspects and stages of the electoral process; (*b*) to verify that political parties and alliances enjoy complete freedom of organization, movement, assembly and expression, without hindrance and intimidation; (*c*) to verify that all political parties and alliances have fair access to State mass media and that there is fairness in the allocation of both the hour and duration of radio and television broadcasts; (*d*) to verify that the electoral rolls are properly drawn up and that qualified voters are not denied identification and registration cards or the right to vote; (*e*) to report to the electoral authorities on complaints, irregularities and interferences reported or observed, and, if necessary, to request the electoral authorities to take action to resolve and rectify them, as well as conducting its own independent investigation of irregularities; (*f*) to observe all activities related to the registration of voters, the organization of the poll, the electoral campaign, the poll itself and the counting, computation and announcement of the results; (*g*) to participate in the electoral education campaign; (*h*) to prepare periodic reports on the evolution of the electoral process, for submission to the Secretary-General through his interim Special Representative. The electoral component would also prepare independent reports about the conduct of the elections. It would establish a special relationship with the National Elections Commission.

In addition, the Secretary-General's interim Special Representative would coordinate technical assistance to the whole electoral process in Mozambique, which would be provided through the United Nations Development Programme, other existing mechanisms of the United Nations system, and the bilateral channels.

ONUMOZ Electoral Division would be headed by a Director and composed of a total of up to 148 international electoral officers, supported by an appropriate number of United Nations volunteers and international and local support staff. During the polling itself, the Electoral Division would require the services of up to 1,200 international observers. The Division would include the Office of the Director, which would provide overall direction and maintain contacts with the Government of Mozambique, RENAMO, the National Elections Commission and the main political parties; three Regional Offices, each headed by a Regional Coordinator; and Provincial Offices, each staffed by a team of up to 10 electoral officers.

HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS

ONUMOZ's humanitarian component—UNOHAC—would be established in Maputo, with suboffices at the regional and provincial levels. It would be headed by a Director, and it would replace the present office of the United Nations Spe-

cial Coordinator for Emergency Relief Operations, which had been responsible for humanitarian assistance programmes in Mozambique. Headed by the Humanitarian Affairs Coordinator, and under the overall authority of the interim Special Representative, it would function as an integrated component of ONUMOZ. Operational agencies and the non-governmental aid community would be asked to provide representatives to work within UNOHAC.

It is estimated that, as a result of both the war and the continuing drought, the internally displaced population in Mozambique totals some 3 to 4 million people. At present, about 3 million Mozambicans living in accessible areas are receiving humanitarian assistance. The signing of the Peace Agreement has already created access to additional affected areas, many of which are controlled by RENAMO. As a consequence, nearly 270,000 additional beneficiaries are receiving humanitarian assistance from the United Nations and from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), under the terms of the 16 July 1992 Declaration of Rome on the Principles of Humanitarian Assistance. This Declaration specifically provides for freedom of movement for persons and means, which, under the flag of the United Nations or of the ICRC, are engaged in humanitarian activities. Indications are that the number of additional beneficiaries may reach 500,000 in a matter of months. It is also estimated that some 1.8 million Mozambican refugees living in neighbouring countries may return home.

UNOHAC would also make available food and other relief for distribution by a technical unit of ONUMOZ to the soldiers in the assembly areas. Subsequently, humanitarian aid would be required for the reintegration of demobilized troops into their communities.

Sixteen international Professional staff would be required for UNOHAC to coordinate and monitor all humanitarian assistance within the regions and provinces of Mozambique.

ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT

The deployment of up to 28 international Professional staff, up to 100 United Nations Volunteers, up to 124 international support staff and an adequate number of local staff would be required to provide secretariat functions and administrative support to the military, electoral and humanitarian components of ONUMOZ, as well as to the Commissions chaired by the United Nations.

FINANCIAL ASPECTS

The Secretary-General has estimated that the cost to the United Nations related to the establishment and deployment of ONUMOZ for a period of ten and a half months would be approximately $332 million. The costs of the Operation are to be met by assessed contributions from United Nations Member States.

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